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ALERT MEMORANDUM

POLAND

There are indications that the Soviets are increasing preparations for an invasion of Poland. Recent military activities in and around Poland are highly unusual or unprecedented for this time of year. We are aware of preparations for an imminent unscheduled joint services exercise involving Soviet, East German, Polish, and possibly Czechoslovak forces. This could be designed to intimidate the Polish leadership and population, but in view of other military activity in the western USSR it could also serve as a cover for an intervention. The unusual closing of large areas of East Germany along the East German - Polish border between 30 November and 9 December probably is related.

A substantial buildup of forces could now be under way in the western military districts of the USSR.

we do not know the status of most of the ground forces that would be used to invade Poland. We infer from the pattern of mobilization activity in the few divisions that additional mobilization or training activity is likely to be taking place undetected. There might be very little warning time prior to an invasion.

On balance, this activity does not necessarily indicate that a Soviet invasion is imminent. We believe that these preparations suggest, however, that a Soviet intervention is increasingly likely.

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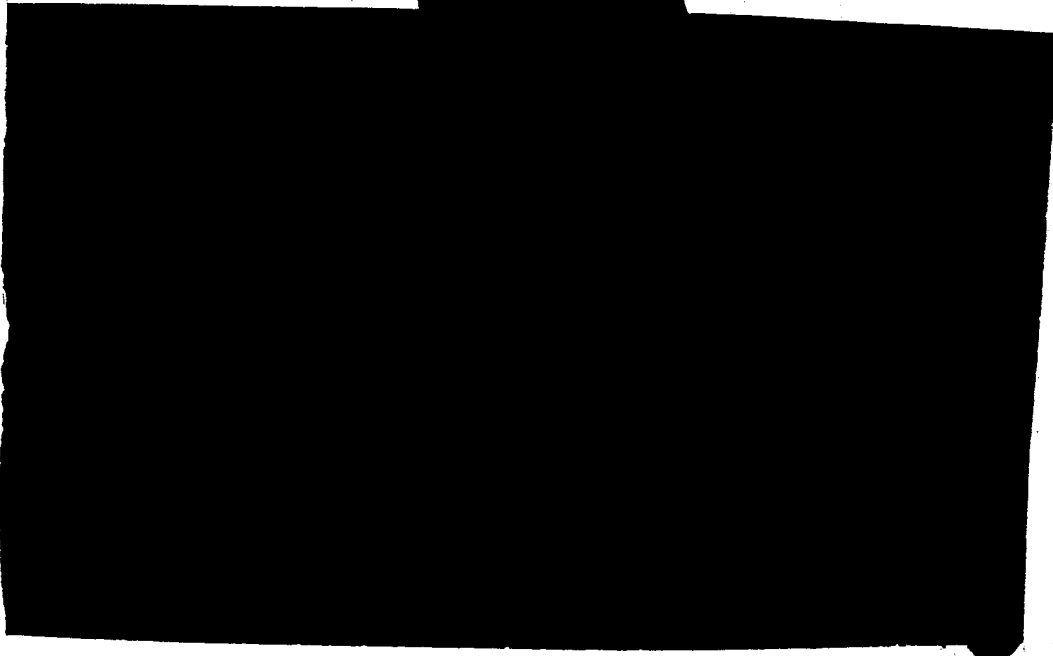


## SITUATION REPORTS

### POLAND




Moscow decides to invade Poland, its forces in East Germany reportedly are to be in position to move at the end of this week or the beginning of next. The movement of forces is to be "covered" by an announcement of combined exercises involving Soviet, East German, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian forces.



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Polish Reactions

Rumors are circulating in Moscow that since mid-November Polish forces have begun withdrawing westward from the Polish-USSR border to prevent being caught in a surprise Soviet attack. The Polish forces reportedly are redeploying to positions 100 kilometers from the border. We have no evidence to confirm these rumors.

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Changes in Polish Party

The Polish party has made additional changes in the ruling party politburo in another effort to restore unity within the party ranks. The two-day central committee session that ended yesterday dropped party ideologue Andrzej Werblan, former Warsaw party leader Alojzy Karoszka, former Interior Minister Stanislaw Kowalczyk, and former longtime trade union boss Wladyslaw Kruczek. Added to the politburo were General Mieczyslaw Moczar, a former Interior Minister with a conservative, nationalist reputation, and Tadeusz Grabski, an aggressive newcomer to the party leadership.

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The changes will dilute Kania's authority within the party leadership. Neither Grabski nor Moczar has any reason to follow Kania's lead. Grabski has been associated with Stefan Oslzowski, the other major force on the politburo.

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The changes seem intended to draw together the ranks of the party and to stem a process of disintegration at the lower levels that has gathered momentum in recent weeks. Both Grabski and Moczar seem to be strong advocates of greater discipline within the party. Moczar's nationalist inclinations have not set well with the Soviets in the past, but his advocacy of discipline and firmness may under the circumstances be attractive to Moscow.

#### Soviet Commentary

TASS has reported that both Kania and Premier Pinkowski spoke at the plenum, but Moscow has not--as yet--gone into any details on the proceedings in Warsaw. Meanwhile, the Soviets continue publicly to insist that they have no intention of invading Poland. A Foreign Ministry spokesman has categorically denied rumors of a Soviet troop mobilization in the Carpathian Military District and has insisted that there are no plans for such a move.

They, however, have stepped up their criticism of the US on the Polish question--presumably in response to the most recent US demarche on the subject. A TASS report from Warsaw yesterday accused Dr. Brzezinski of urging "Polish opposition forces" to launch an armed attack against the Polish authorities. The TASS item also charged the US with seeking to use the International Monetary Fund to gain control over the Polish economy. Previous reports suggested that Moscow might not oppose the Poles joining the Fund under certain conditions.

#### Economic Situation

In his speech before the plenum on Monday, Pinkowski confirmed that 1980 has been another disastrous year for the Polish economy. He described the economic situation as "serious beyond words" and saw few prospects for major improvements next year.

Despite the grim state of the economy, Pinkowski promised that food supplies, notably meat, this month will at least equal their December 1979 levels. This priority undoubtedly reflects the regime's awareness that the threat to public order is particularly great during the holiday season.

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